6s Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16



the Hegelian philosophical construction, whence came the German Ultranationalist ideal, and which was now, through Khomyakov and his school (Kirejevsky, Constantin and Ivan Aksakov, Youri Samarin), to give rise to a powerful anti-Germanist reaction.

Khomyakov's odes constitute what we might call the epigraph of Muscovite Slavophilia. They are a pathetic and prophetic appeal to Slav solidarity: 'Look Southwards over the vast steppes, and the distant West. . . . Numerous are they, in the Carpathians and in the chasm of the Balkans, numerous are our brethren, slaves of the Turk or of the German. . . . Warm them at the fire of your love, and the day will come when the eaglets, our brethren, bursting their bonds with their brazen beaks, will, in their turn, fly off, as eagles fly'. (*Ode to the Eagle*, 1832.) The *leitmotiv* of these odes is the divine mission of Russia, who is to raise up her brethren and snatch them from the oppressor's yoke. But this mission does not go beyond a moral hegemony. 'Be not proud', says the poet elsewhere, 'in your dealings with Belgrade, O Prague, capital of the Czech countries! Despise not the Bohemian sanctuary of Vychegrad, O Moscow of the gilded domes! Brothers in blood, let us all remember that we owe each other equal and fraternal affection'.

The Slavophile school, in its early days, had what we should now call a 'bad press'. The Westernists, who then controlled the critics and moulded opinion, represented Khomyakov's friends as Chauvinists and Obscurantists. People made fun of their faith in the native virtues of the *moujik*, their extravagances in the matter of dress, the *mourmolka*, the traditional bonnet which they had adopted with the Russian costume, and especially at their illusions as to the expansion-power of Russian culture at that time. Nothing is so dangerous as a metaphor cast into the whirlpool of international life. Pushkin had one day written this unfortunate line:—

> 'Will the Slavonic streams all come and lose themselves in the Russian Ocean?'

That was sufficient to lend credence to the idea that Russia considered herself to have a divine mission, that of liberating her racial brethren, and grouping them around her. When the Russians spoke of 'Slavophilia', the West persisted in understanding 'Panslavism'. Yet they were two very different things.

6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16



the medieval Serbian Empire foundered, and the oath of Tsar Lazar:—

'If a man has not fought at Kossovo,
His hands shall always be sterile;
His fields shall yield no corn
And his vineyards no grapes!
Forward, brother Serbs!
Liberty is calling you'.

A Bulgar, Ferdinand Kosovskj, proclaimed: 'We are bound to the great Russian nation by our past, our language, our customs. The words "Honour", "Liberty", "Fraternity" are the same in Russian and in Bulgarian. The Bulgarian people will never let themselves be drawn into a war against their liberator, the Russian nation!' His compatriot, Stella Blagojeva, called upon the Bulgarian women to urge the soldiers to turn their arms 'against Hitler, the implacable enemy of Slavism'.

The Croat, Djura Salaj, drew a pathetic picture of the atrocities and the exactions which his country had witnessed—hundreds of thousands of men deported to Germany, 375 members of the Croatian Peasant Party executed at Zagreb, outstanding personalities interned (Machek, the Peasant Leader, Ivan Mestrovich, the sculptor, etc.).

A Czech deputy, Marek Culen, called upon the Slovaks to 'assume their responsibility in the face of history, on the eve of great and decisive battles' and urged their soldiers to go over to the Russians, with their arms.

Two representatives of Poland, the authoress Wanda Wassielewska and the workman Alexander Jocis, drew a picture of the fresh martyrdom of their country, and urged resistance.

A German also spoke—the poet, Johannes Becher—to stigmatise the Hitlerian racial theories, the pretext for their colonial schemes in Eastern Europe. 'The crimes perpetrated by Hitler make every German blush to admit his nationality. . . . German people, understand this: the Slavonic nations, in their liberating war, do not and never will, wish to conquer German lands. . . . Join with all the Slavonic peoples, emancipate yourselves from the accursed Hitlerian domination! Wipe out the shame and the curse which weigh upon Germany!'

The Congress also heard the Slovene, Ivan Regent, and

7: Lednicki S-4 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavic Peoples E16



186* 829 177 Yes, Herzen was certainly one of the most brilliant and penetrating singers of the Russian requiem for Europe, but even in this he was a pupil of the Europeans—of the Saint-Simonists, Fourier, Cabet, and Proudhon, who violently criticized contemporary European civilization. They did for Herzen what later in the seventies Renan did for Strakhov. Strakhov filled his book *The Struggle with the West in Our Literature* with Renan's criticism. But Renan did even more—he suggested some ideas to the Russians which they didn't forget. Strakhov quotes one of them: "There still exists in the world a reserve of barbarian forces, which are almost all in the hands of Russia. As long as the civilized nations conserve their solid organization, the role of these barbarians will be almost null; but without doubt, if (from which God preserve us!) an epidemic of selfishness and anarchy brings our western states to destruction, the barbarians will accomplish their duty, which consists in raising the many forces in spoiled civilizations, in producing the vivifying current of instinct which was lost when reflection destroyed subordination, to show that readiness to sacrifice one's life for faithfulness to one's sovereign (a deed which a democrat considers low and absurd) is a source of power and leads to the possession of the world."[60]

The case of Herzen is particularly eloquent: it shows how demoralizing were the Slavophil and Panslavistic conceptions if a man of Herzen's caliber, Europeanism, and superior generosity could find himself in such a moral and spiritual impass.

186* 829 539 The ultimate expression of this eastern Messianism suggested by the Russian Westerners is to be found in the *Scythians*, a poetical message which Alexander Blok addressed to the West: "Now rejoicing, now sorrowing, now flowing with black blood, she (Russia) looks at you with hatred and with love. . . . We love everything—the heat of cold numbers and the gift of divine visions, everything appeals to us—the perspicacious Gallic thought and the gloomy German genius. . . . We remember everything—the hell of Parisian streets and the refreshing coolness of Venice,

[60] Strakhov, *Bor'ba s zapadom v nashey literature*, St. Petersburg, 1882, vol. I, p. 324.

7; Lednicki S-4 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavic Peoples E16



the distant aroma of the lemon groves, and the smoky buildings in Cologne. . . . We love the body, the taste and the color of it, and its oppressive deadly odor. . . . Is it our fault if your skeleton cracks in our heavy, soft paws?"

## 9. Reactions Among the Slavs Toward Panslavic Conceptions

In the beginning of the nineteenth century the Southern Slavs attracted no great attention from the world. However, after the Russian-Turkish wars of the time of Catherine II they began to move more distinctly on the political stage of Europe, as Pypin justly says.[61] The fight of Serbia for her independence, the fight of the Montenegrians against the Turks and their resistance against the French (I am still following Pypin), Illyria established by Napoleon—all this revealed the existence of energetic Slavic elements in the Near East. To this should be added facts as Vuk Karadžić's collection of popular songs in which the deeds of Serbian national heroes were glorified. The fights of the Croatians against the Hungarians, the Russian intervention in the Hungarian Revolution of 1848, the part which Russia took in the liberation of Serbia, all created an atmosphere in which the Panslavistic conceptions could, of course, count on a sympathetic reaction. However, as far as the final results are concerned, Russian Panslavism was not at all successful even among the Southern Slavs. The Croatians, who in the forties when fighting against the Hungarians were dreaming of Slavic unity, very soon abandoned these dreams and looked more and more toward the West for help against Turkey. The Serbs in spite of their religious ties with Russia were returning closer and closer to the traditions of Obradović and of Vuk Karadžić and his reform which brought the Serbian cultural development away from Russian influences, and to conceptions of a national state, and of the building of a national culture. Russia's tactless approaches to Serbia, the Rus-

[61] *Op. cit.*, p. 11.